THE

CASE

OF THE

ALLEGIANCE

DUE TO

Soveraign Powers,

Further Consider'd, and

DEFENDED:

WITH

A more particular Respect to the Doctrine of NON-RESISTANCE and PASSIVE-OBEDIENCE.

TOGETHER,

With a Seasonable Perswasive to our New Dissenters.

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LONDON,
Printed for **W. Rogers**, and are to be sold by the *Booksellers* in *London* and *Westminster*. 1691.

Dr. Sherlock's

DEFENCE

OF HIS

CASE of ALLEGIANCE, &c.

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THE CASE OF THE ALLEGIANCE DUE TO Soveraign Powers, DEFENDED, &c.

THere is nothing more evident, than that GOD ſet up a *Supreme* and Soveraign Power in the Jewiſh Nation, as could not, and ought not to be reſiſted by the Fundamental Laws of their Government; not that the Supreme and Soveraign Power is alwaies to be in a ſingle Perſon, but that where-ever it is, it is irreſiſtible; and that whenever this Supreme Power by the Laws of the Nation is inveſted in a ſingle perſon, ſuch a Prince muſt not, upon any Pretence whatſoever, be reſiſted.

To prove this, I ſhall begin with Examples out of the Old Teſtament.

The firſt Governour God ſet over the Children of *Iſrael*, when he brought them out of the Land of *Egypt*, was *Moſes*; and I think I need not prove how ſacred and irreſiſtible his

Authority was. This is sufficiently evident in the Rebellion of *Korah*, *Dathan*, and *Abiram*, against *Moses* and *Aaron*, when God caused the Earth to open her Mouth and swallow them up, *Numb.* 16. And least this should be thought an extraordinary case, *Moses* and *Aaron* being extraordinary persons, immediately appointed by God, and governed by his immediate Direction, the Apostle St. *Jude* alledges this Example against those in his dates, who were turbulent and factious, who despised Dominions, and spake evil of Dignities, *Jud.* v. 11. which he could not have done, had not this Example extended to all ordinary as well as extraordinary Cases; had it not been a lasting Testimony of God's Displeasure against all those who oppose themselves against the Soveraign Powers. But *Moses* was not always to rule over them, and therefore God expressly provides for a Succession of Soveraign Powers, to which they must all submit. The ordinary Soveraign Power of the Jewish Nation after *Moses*'s death, was devolved either on the High Priest, or those extraordinary persons, whom God was pleased to raise up, such as *Joshua*, and the several Judges, till in *Samuel*'s days it settled in their Kings. For, as for the Jewish *Sanhedrim*, whose Power is so much extolled by the Jewish Writers, who are all of a late date, many years since the destruction of *Jerusalem*, and therefore no competent Witnesses of what was done so many Ages before; it does not appear from any Testimony of Scripture, that there was any such Court of Judicature, till after their return from the Babylonish Captivity.

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But yet God took care to secure the Peace and good Government of the Nation, by appointing such a Power as should receive the last Appeals, and whose Sentence in all Controversies should be final and uncontroulable; as you may see in the 17th. of *Deut.* 8, 9, 10, 11, 12. *ver.* There were inferiour Magistrates and Judges appointed in their several Tribes and Cities, which *Moses* did by the advice of *Jethro* his Father-in-law, and by the approbation of God, *Exod.* 18. But as the Supreme Power was still reserved in the hands of *Moses*, while he lived, so it is here secured to the High Priest or Judges after his death; for, it is expressly appointed, That if those inferiour Judges could not determine the Controversie, they should come unto the Priests and Levites; that is, the Priests of the

the Tribe of *Levi*, (who by the 12. *ver.* appears only to be the *High Prieſts*) *and to the Judge that ſhall be in thoſe days*; that is, if it ſhall be at ſuch a time, when there is an extraordinary Judge raiſed by God (for there were not alwaies ſuch Judges in *Iſrael*; as is evident to any one who reads the Book of *Judges*) and of them they ſhould enquire, *and they ſhall ſhew the ſentence of judgment, and thou ſhalt do according to the ſentence which they of that place (which the Lord ſhall chuſe) ſhall ſhew thee; and thou ſhalt obſerve to do according to all they ſhall inform thee.*

Where the Place which God ſhall chuſe, ſignifies the Place which he ſhould appoint for the *Ark* of the *Covenant*, and for the *Levitical Worſhip*; which was the place where the High Prieſt, and the *chief Judge* or *Ruler* of *Iſrael*, when there was any ſuch perſon, had their ordinary reſidence; which was firſt at *Shilo*, and afterwards at *Jeruſalem*.

The Authority of the chief Prieſts, or of the Judge, when there was one, in thoſe days, was as abſolute Authority as the moſt abſolute Monarch in the World can challenge, *v.* 12. That Diſobedience to their laſt & final Determination, whatever the cauſe be, ſhall be puniſht with Death: And what place can there be for *Reſiſtance* in ſuch a Conſtitution of Government as this? It is ſaid indeed, in *v.* 11. *according to the ſentence of the Law, which they ſhall teach thee, and according to the judgment that they ſhall tell thee, thou ſhalt do.* And hence ſome conclude, that they were not bound to abide by their Sentence, nor were puniſhable if they did not, but only in ſuch caſes, when they gave Sentence according to the Law of God. But theſe Men do not conſider, that the matter in controverſie is ſuppoſed to be doubtful, and ſuch as could not be determined by the *inferiour Courts*, and therefore is ſubmitted to the deciſion of the *Supreme Judge*, and as he determined, ſo they muſt do, and no man, under the penalty of Death, muſt preſume to do otherwiſe: Which takes away all liberty of judging from private perſons, though this *Supreme Judge* might poſſibly miſtake in his Judgment, as all *human Judicatures* are liable to miſtakes; but it ſeems God Almighty thought it neceſſary, that there ſhould be ſome final Judgment, from whence there ſhould be no Appeal, notwithſtanding the poſſibility of a miſtake in it.

So that there was a *Supreme* and *Soveraign*, that is, unaccountable and irresistable Power in the Jewish Nation appointed by God himself; for indeed it is not possible that the publick Peace and Security of any Nation should be preserved without it. And I think it is as plain, That when the Jews would have a King, their Kings were invested with this *supreme* and *irresistible Power*; for when they desired a King, they did not desire a meer *nominal* and *titular King*, but *a King to judge them*, and *to go out before them, and fight their Battels*; that is, a *King* who had the Supreme and Soveraign Authority, 1 *Sam.* 8. 6, 19, 20. a King who should have all that Power of Government, excepting the peculiar Acts of the Priestly Office, which either their High Priest or their Judges had before.

And therefore, when *Samuel* tells them what shall be the *manner* of their *King*, *v.* 11. though what he saies does necessarily suppose the translation of the *soveraign* and *irresistible Power* to the *Person* of their *King*, yet it does not suppose that the King had any New Power given him, more than what was exercised formerly by their Priests and Judges. He does not deterr them from chusing a King, because a King should have greater Power, and be more unaccountable and irresistible than their other Rulers were; for *Samuel* himself had had as soveraign and irresistible a Power as any King, being the Supreme Judge in *Israel*, whose Sentence no man could disobey or contradict, but he incurred the Penalty of Death, according to the *Mosaical Law*. But the reason why he dissuades them from chusing a King, was because the external *Pomp* and *Magnificence* of *Kings* was like to be very chargeable and oppressive to them. *He will take your Sons, and appoint them for himself, for his Chariots, and to be his Horsemen, and some shall run before his Chariots. And he will appoint him Captains over thousands, and Captains over fifties, and will set them to ear his Ground, and to reap his Harvest.* And thus in several particulars he acquaints them what Burthens and Exactions they will bring upon themselves by setting up a King, which they were then free from: And if any Prince should be excessive in such Exactions, yet they had no way to help themselves: They must not resist, nor rebel against him, nor expect, that what Inconvenience they might find in Kingly Government, God would *relieve and deliver them from it, when once they had chose a King: Ye shall cry out in that day, because of your King which*

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ye have choſen you, and the Lord will not hear you in that day, v. 18. That is, God will not alter the Government for you again, how much ſoever you may complain of it.

This, I ſay, is a plain Proof that there Kings were inveſted with that Soveraign Power which muſt not be reſiſted, though they oppreſs their Subjects to maintain their own State, and the Grandeur and Magnificence of their Kingdom. But I cannot think that theſe words contain the Original Grant and Charter of Regal Power, but only the tranſlation of that Power which was formerly in their *High Prieſts* or *Judges*, to *Kings*. Kings had no more Power than their other Governours had; for there can be no Power greater than that which is irreſiſtible; but this Power in the hands of Kings was likely to be more burthenſome and oppreſſive to them, than it was in the hands of their Prieſts and Judges, by reaſon of their different way of living; which is the only Argument *Samuel* uſes to diſſuade them from transferring the *Supreme* and *Soveraign Power* to *Princes*. And therefore I rather chuſe to tranſlate Miſhpat, as our Tranſlators do, by *the manner of the King*, than as other learned men do, by the right of the King, thereby underſtanding the Original Charter of Kingly Power: for it is not a Regal Power which *Samuel* here blames, which is no other but the very ſame which he himſelf had, while he was Supreme *Judge of Iſrael*; but their pompous way of living, which would prove very oppreſſive and burthenſome to them, and be apt to make them complain, who had not been uſed to ſuch Exactions.

Let us now proceed to conſider, how ſacred and irreſiſtible the Perſons and Authority of Kings were under the *Jewiſh Government*; and there cannot be a plainer Example of this, than in the Caſe of *David*. He was himſelf anointed to be *King after Saul's death*, but in the mean time was grievouſly perſecuted by *Saul*, purſued from one place to another, with a deſign to take away his Life. How now does *David* behave himſelf in this extremity? What courſe does he take to ſecure himſelf from *Saul*? Why, he takes the only courſe that is left a Subject; he flies for it, and hides himſelf from *Saul* in the Mountains and Caves of the Wilderneſs; and when he found he was diſcovered in one place, he removes to another: He kept Spies upon *Saul*, to obſerve his motions, not that he might meet him to give him Battel, or to take him at an advantage, but that he

he might keep out of his way, and not fall unawares into his hands.

2 [illegible] Well, but this was no thanks to *David*, becauſe he could do no otherwiſe. He was too weak for *Saul*, and not able to ſtand againſt him; and therefore he had no other Remedy but Flight. But yet we muſt conſider, that *David* was a Man of War, he ſlew *Goliah*, and fought the Battels of *Iſrael* with great ſucceſs; he was an admired and beloved Captain, which made *Saul* ſo jealous of him; the Eyes of *Iſrael* were upon him for their next King, and how eaſily might he have raiſed a potent and formidable Rebellion againſt *Saul*! But he was ſo far from this, that he invites no man to his aſſiſtance; and when ſome came uninvited, he made no uſe of them in an offenſive or defenſive War againſt *Saul*. Nay, when God delivered *Saul* two ſeveral times into *David*'s hands, that he could as eaſily have killed him, as have *cut off the skirts of his garment at* Engedi, 1 Sam. 24. or as have *taken that ſpear away which ſtuck in the ground at his bolſter, as he did in the hill of* Hachilah, 1 Sam. 26. Yet he would neither touch *Saul* himſelf, nor ſuffer any of the People that were with him to do it, though they were very importunate with him for liberty to kill *Saul*; nay, though they urged him with an Argument from Providence, that it was a plain Evidence that it was the will of God that he ſhould kill *Saul*, becauſe God had now delivered his Enemy into his hands, according to the promiſe He had made to *David*, 1 *Sam.* 24. 4. 26. *ch. ver.* 8. We know what uſe ſome men have made of this Argument of Providence, to juſtifie all the Villanies they had a mind to act: but *David*, it ſeems, did not think that an opportunity of doing evil, gave him licenſe and authority to do it. Opportunity, we ſay, makes a *Thief*, and it makes a *Rebel*, and it makes a *Murderer*. No man can do any Wickedneſs, which he has no opportunity of doing; and if the Providence of God, which puts ſuch opportunities into Mens hands, juſtifies the wickedneſs they commit, no man can be chargeable with any Guilt whatever he does; and certainly opportunity will as ſoon juſtifie any other Sin as Rebellion, and the Murder of Princes. We are to learn our Duty from the Law of God, not from his Providence; at leaſt, this muſt be a ſettled Principle, that the Providence of God will never juſtifie any action which this Law forbids.

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And therefore, notwithstanding this opportunity which God had put into his hands to destroy his Enemy, and to take the Crown for his Reward, *David* considers his Duty, remembers, that though *Saul* were his Enemy, and that very unjustly, yet he was the *Lord's Anointed*. *The Lord forbid*, saies he, *that I should do this unto my Master, the Lord's Anointed, to stretch forth my hand against him, seeing he is the Lord's Anointed.* Nay, he was so far from taking away his Life, that his Heart smote him for cutting off the Skirt of his Garment. And we ought to observe the Reason *David* gives, why he durst not hurt *Saul*, Because he was the Lord's Anointed; which is the very Reason the Apostle gives in the 13. *Rom.* 12. *Because the Powers are ordained of God, and he that resisteth the Power, resisteth the ordinance of God.* For to be anointed of God, signifies no more, than that he was made King by God. Thus *Josephus* expounds being anointed by God, ἀπὸ τῦ θεῦ. Βασιλείας ἀξιωθεὶς, one who had the Kingdom bestowed on him by God; and in another place, One who was ordained by God: For it seems by this Phrase, he looked upon the external Ceremony of Anointing, to be like Imposition of Hands, which in other cases consecrated Persons to peculiar Offices: For this external Unction was only a visible sign of God's designation of them to such an Office; and when that was plain, they were as much *God's Anointed* without this visible Unction as with it. *Cyrus* is called God's Anointed, though he never was anointed by any Prophet, but only designed for his Kingdom by Prophecy, 45. *Isa.* 1. And we never read in Scripture, that any Kings had this external Unction, who succeeded in the Kingdom by right of Inheritance, unless the Title and Succession were doubtful; and yet they were the Lord's Anointed too, that is, were placed in the Throne by him. So that this is an eternal Reason against resisting *Soveraign Princes*, that they are set up by God, and invested with his Authority, and therefore their Persons and Authority are sacred.

But yet there are some men, who from the example of *David*, think they can prove the lawfulness of a defensive, though not an offensive War. For *David*, when he fled from *Saul*, made himself Captain of four hundred men, 1 *Sam.* 22. 2. which number soon encreased to six hundred, 1 *Sam.* 23. 13.

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and ſtill every day encreaſed by new additions, 1 *Chron.* 12. 1. Now, why ſhould he entertain theſe men, but to defend himſelf againſt the Forces of *Saul?* that is, to make a defenſive War whenever he was aſſaulted by him.

1. In anſwer to this, I obſerve, That *David* invited none of theſe men after him, but they came Voluntiers after a beloved Captain and General; which ſhews how formidable he could have made himſelf, when ſuch numbers reſorted to him of their own accord.

2. When he had them, he never uſed them for any Hoſtile Acts againſt *Saul*, or any of his Forces; he never ſtood his ground, when he heard *Saul* was coming, but alwaies fled, and his Men with him; Men who were never uſed to flee, and were very ready to have ſerved him againſt *Saul* himſelf, would he have permitted them. And, I ſuppoſe they will not call this a Defenſive War, to flie before an Enemy, and to hide themſelves in Caves and Mountains; and yet this was the only Defenſive War which *David* made with all his Men about him: Nay, all that he would make, according to his profeſſed Principles, *That it was not lawful to ſtretch out his hand againſt the Lord's Anointed.* And when theſe men are purſued, as *David* was, by an inraged and jealous Prince, we will not charge them with Rebellion, though they flie before him by thouſands in company.

3. Yet there was ſufficient reaſon why *David* ſhould entertain theſe men, who voluntarily reſorted to him, though he never intended to uſe them againſt *Saul*: for ſome of them ſerved for Spies, to obſerve *Saul*'s motions, that he might not be ſurprized by him, but have timely notice to make his eſcape. And the very preſence of ſuch a number of men about him, without any hoſtile act, preſerved him from being ſeized on by ſome officious perſons, who otherwiſe might have delivered him into *Saul*'s hands. And he being anointed by *Samuel* to be King after *Saul*'s death, this was the firſt Step to his Kingdom, to have ſuch a Retinue of valiant Men about him; which made his advancement to the Throne more eaſie, and diſcouraged any oppoſition which might otherwiſe been made againſt him; as we ſee it proved in the event, and have reaſon

reaſon to believe that it was thus ordered by God, for that very end. It is certain, that *Gad* the Prophet, and *Abiathar* the Prieſt, who was the only man who eſcaped the fury of *Saul*, when he deſtroyed the Prieſts of the Lord, were in *David*'s Retinue; and that *David* enterprized nothing, without firſt asking Counſel of God: But he who had anointed him to be King, now draws Forces after him, which after *Saul*'s death ſhould facilitate his advancement to the Kingdom.

2*dly*, It is objected further, That *David* intended to have ſtayed in *Keilah*, and to have fortified it againſt *Saul*, had not he been informed, That the Men of the City would have ſaved themſelves, by delivering him up to *Saul*, 1 *Sam.* 23. Now, to maintain any ſtrong Hold againſt a *Prince*, is an act of War, though it be but a defenſive War. And I grant it is ſo, but deny that there is any Appearance, that *David* ever intended any ſuch thing. *David* and his Men, by God's appointment and direction, had fought with the Philiſtins, and ſmote them with a great ſlaughter, and ſaved *Keilah* from them; and as it is probable, did intend to have ſtayed ſome time in *Keilah*: But *David* had heard that *Saul* intended to come againſt *Keilah*, to deſtroy the City, and take him, and enquires of the Lord about it, and receives an anſwer, That *Saul* would come againſt the City. He enquires again, whether the Men of *Keilah* would deliver him up to *Saul*, and was anſwered, That they would. And upon this, he and his Men leave *Keilah*, and betake themſelves to the ſtrong Holds in the Wilderneſs.

But now, it is likely, That if *David* had had any deſign to have fortified *Keilah* againſt *Saul*, he would have been afraid of the Men of the City: He had ſix hundred Men with him in *Keilah*, a victorious Army, which had lately deſtroyed the Philiſtines, who oppreſſed them; and therefore could eaſily have kept the Men of *Keilah* too in awe, if he had pleaſed, and have put it out of their power to deliver him to *Saul*. But all that *David* deſigned was, to have ſtayed there as long as he could, and, when *Saul* had drawn nigh, to have removed to ſome other place: But when he underſtood the Treacherous Inclinations of the Men of *Keilah*, and being reſolved againſt all

270 acts of Hostility, he hastened his remove, before *Saul* drew near.

So that these men must find some other Example than that of *David*, to countenance their Rebellion against their Prince: for *David* never rebelled, never fought against *Saul*; but when he had a very potent Army with him, he and his Men alwaies fled, and hid themselves in the Wilderness and places of difficult access.

The Sum is this: God, from the very beginning, set up such a Supreme and Soveraign Power in the *Jewish Nation*, as could not, as ought not to be resisted. This Power was at first in the hands of *Moses*, and when *Korah* and his company rebelled against him, God vindicated his Authority by a miraculous Destruction of those Rebels; *for the Earth opened her mouth and swallowed them up*. Afterwards, when they came into *Canaan*, the ordinary Exercise of his Power was in the High Priests and Judges, whom *God* raised up, whose Sentence and Judgment was final, and must not be resisted, under penalty of death, when the Children of *Israel* desired a King, this soveraign and irresistible Power was transferred to him, and settled in his Person. *Saul* was the first King who was chosen by God, and anointed by *Samuel*; but for his Disobedience, was afterwards rejected by God, and *David* the Son of *Jesse*, was anointed King to succeed after *Saul*'s death: But in the mean time *David* was persecuted by *Saul*, who sought after his Life. And though he himself was anointed by God, and *Saul* rejected by him, yet he durst not persist nor oppose him, nor defend himself by force against the most unjust violence, but fled for his life, and hid himself in Caves and Mountains. Nay, when *Saul* was delivered into his hands by God, he durst not stretch out his hand against the Lord's Anointed.

Let us now consider what Christ and his Apostles taught and practised about Obedience to Soveraign Princes; whereby we may learn how far Christians are obliged by these Laws of *Subjection* and *Non-Resistance*.

1. I shall consider the Doctrine of Christ, while he lived on Earth: And here are several things very fit to be observed.

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First, We have no reaſon to ſuſpect, that Chriſt would alter the Rights of *Soveraign Power*, and the meaſures of Obedience and Subjection, which were fixt and determin'd by God himſelf. This was no part of his Commiſſion, to change the external Forms and Polities of Civil Governments, which is an act of Secular Power and Authority, and does not belong to a *Spiritual Prince*. He who would not undertake to decide a petty Controverſie, or to divide an Inheritance between two contending Brethren, 12. *Luk.* 13, 14. can we think that he would attempt any thing of that vaſt conſequence, as the Changes and Alterations of Civil power, which would have unſettled the Fundamental Conſtitutions of all the Governments of the World at that time?

Our Saviour tells us, *That he came not to deſtroy the Law and the Prophets, but to fulfil it*; to fill it up, to compleat and perfect it; *Mat.* 5. 17. that is, to fulfill the ancient Types and Propheſies in his own perſon, to perfect an external and ceremonial by a real and Evangelical Righteouſneſs; to perfect the Moral Laws with new inſtances and degrees of Vertue; but He abrogated no Moral Law, and therefore not the Laws of Obedience and Subjection to Princes, which has alwaies been reduced to the Fifth Commandment. Nay, he abrogated no Laws, but by perfecting and fulfilling them; and therefore he could make no alteration in the Doctrin of *Non-Reſiſtance*, which is as perfect Subjection as can or ought to be paid to Soveraign Princes. His Kingdom was not of this World, as he told *Pilate*: Though he was a King, he neither was an Enemy nor Rival to *Caſar*; but had he abſolved his Diſciples from their Obedience to Princes, had he made it in any caſe lawful to Reſiſt (which was ſo expreſly forbid the Jews by God himſelf, and which is ſuch a contradiction to the very Nation of Soveraign Power) he had been ſomewhat worſe than a Rival to all the Princes of the Earth; for though he had ſet up no Kingdom of his own, yet he had pulled down theirs. Whereas he took great care that his Religion ſhould give no diſturbance to the World, nor create any reaſonable Jealouſies and Suſpicions to Princes, who had been very excuſable for their averſion to Chriſtianity, had he invaded the *Rights* and *Royalties* of their Crowns.

This makes it very improbable, that our Saviour ſhould make any Alterations in Civil Powers, or abridge the *Rights* of *Soveraignty*; which is ſo foreign to his deſign of coming into the World, and ſo incongruous to the Perſon which he ſuſtained; and yet he could not alter the Duties of Subjects, but he muſt alter the Rights of Princes too; he muſt take away the Soveraign Power of Princes, at the ſame time that he makes it lawful for Subjects in any caſe whatſoever to reſiſt. We may ſafely then conclude, That our Saviour has left the Government of the World as he found it: He has indeed given ſuch admirable Laws, as will teach Princes to govern, and Subjects to obey better; which is the moſt effectual way to ſecure the publick Peace and Happineſs, to prevent the Oppreſſion of Subjects, and Rebellions againſt Princes: but he has not interpoſed in new modelling the Governments of the World, which is not of ſuch conſequence as ſome men imagine. It is not the external form of Government, but the Fatherly Care, and Prudence, and Juſtice of Governours, and the dutiful Obedience of Subjects, which can make any People happy. If Princes and Subjects be good Chriſtians, they may be happy under moſt forms of Government; if they be not, they can be happy under none. Had our Saviour given Subjects Liberty to Reſiſt, to Depoſe, to Murder *Tyrannical Princes*, he had done them no kindneſs at all; for, to give liberty to Subjects to Reſiſt, is only to proclaim an Univerſal Licenſe to Factions and Seditions, and Civil Wars; and if any Man can think this ſuch a mighty Bleſſing to the World, yet methinks it is not a Bleſſing proper for the *Prince of Peace* to give: But he who inſtructs *Princes* to Rule as God's Miniſters and Vicegerents, and to expreſs a Fatherly Care and Concernment for the *Happineſs* of their Subjects, and that teaches Subjects to reverence and obey their Princes, as the Image of God, and quietly ſubmit and yield to his Authority, and that enforces theſe Laws, both on Princes and Subjects, in the Name and Authority of God, and from the conſideration of the future Judgment, when Princes who abuſe their Power, ſhall give an account of it to their great Maſter, when Subjects who reſiſt, ſhall receive to themſelves Damnation; and thoſe who patiently and quietly ſuffer for God's ſake, ſhall have their Injuries redreſt, and their Obedience rewarded: I ſay, ſuch a perſon

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ſon as this takes a more effectual courſe to reform the Abuſes of the Civil Power, and to preſerve good Government in the World, than all our *wiſe Politicians* and *State-menders*, who think to reform the Government of the World by ſome State-Spells and Charms, without reforming thoſe who govern, and thoſe who are governed. This our Saviour has done, and this is the beſt thing that could be done, nay, this was all that he could do in this matter. He never uſurpt any Civil Power and Authority, and therefore could not new model the Government of the World: He never offers any external Force and Compulſion to make Men obey his Laws, and therefore neither forces Princes to Rule well, nor Subjects to Obey; but he has taken the ſame care of the Government of the World, as he has done of all the other Duties of Piety and Vertue; that is, he has given very good Laws, and has threatned thoſe that break them with eternal puniſhments; and as the Laws and Religion of our Saviour prevail, ſo will the Governments of the World mend, without altering the Model and Conſtitution of them.

2. But yet we have ſome poſitive Evidence what our Saviour taught about Obedience to the Higher Powers; I ſhall give you two Inſtances of it, which are as plain and expreſs as can be deſired.

Firſt, The firſt is that Anſwer our Saviour gave to the *Phariſees* and *Herodians*, when they conſulted together to intangle him in his Talk, *Mat.* 22. 15, *&c.* they come to him with great Ceremony and Addreſs, as to an infallible Oracle, to conſult him in a very weighty Caſe of Conſcience. They expreſs a great eſteem and aſſurance of his Sincerity, and Faithfulneſs, and Courage, as well as of his unerring Judgment, in declaring the Will of God to them. *Maſter, we know that thou art true, and teacheſt the way of God in truth, neither careſt thou for any Man, for thou regardeſt not the perſon of Man*: that is, thou wilt not conceal nor pervert the Truth for fear nor favour: and then they propoſe an inſnaring Queſtion to him; *Tell us therefore, what thinkeſt thou? is it lawful to give Tribute to Cæſar, or not?* They thought it impoſſible that he ſhould give any Anſwer to this, which would not make

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him obnoxious, either to the Roman Governours, if he denied that the Jews might lawfully pay Tribute to *Cæsar*, or to the Pharisees and people, if he affirmed that they might: for there
272 was a very potent Faction among them, who thought it unlawful for the Jews to own the Authority or Usurpations of any *Foreign Prince*, or to pay Tribute to him, as to their King. They being expresly forbid by their Law, *to set a stranger over them for their King, who is not their Brother*, (*i. e.*) who is not a natural Jew, *Deut.* 17. 15. and it seems they could not distinguish between their own voluntary Act in chusing a Stranger for their King, (which was indeed forbid by their Law) and their submitting to a *Foreign Prince*, when they were conquered by him. Our Saviour, who knew their wicked intention in all this, that they did not come with an honest design to be instructed in their Duty, but to seek an Advantage against him, expresses some indignation at it; *Why tempt ye me, ye Hypocrites?* But yet, to return them an Answer to that their Question, he bids them shew him the *Tribut-Money*, that is, the Money in which they used to pay Tribute, and enquires whose Image and Superscription it had; for coining of Money was as certain a Mark of Soveraignty, as making Laws, or the power of the Sword. Well, they acknowledg that the Image and Superscription on the Tribute Money was *Cæsar's*; upon which he replies, *Render therefore unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and unto God the things that are God's.* The plain meaning of which Answer is this, That since by the very Impression on their Money, it is evident, that *Cæsar* is their Soveraign Lord, they must render to him all the *Rights* of *Soveraignty*, among which, *Tribute* is one, as St. *Paul* tells us, *Render therefore unto all their dues, tribute to whom tribute is due, custom to whom custom, fear to whom fear, honour to whom honour*, *Rom.* 13. 7. Whatever is due to *Soveraign Princes*, and does not interfere with their Duty to God, that they must give to *Cæsar*, who at this time was their Soveraign. In which Answer there are several things observable.

1. That our Saviour does not examine into *Cæsar's* Right, nor how he came by this Soveraign Power; but as he found him in possession of it, so he leaves him, and requires them to render to him all the Rights of Soveraignty.

2. That

2. That he does not particularly determine what the things of *Cæsar are*, that is, what his *Right is* as a *Soveraign Prince*. Hence some men conclude, that this Text can prove nothing; that we cannot learn from it, what our Saviour's Judgment was in this Point; that it is only a subtil Answer, which those who ask the Question could make nothing of; which was a proper return to their ensnaring Question. This I think is as great a Reproach to our Saviour, as they can well cast upon him, that He, who was the Wisdom of God, the great *Prophet* and *Teacher* of Mankind, should return as Sophistical and doubtful Answers as the *Heathen Oracles* and that in a Case, which required, and would admit a very plain Answer. It is true, many times our Saviour, when He discourst of what concern'd His own Person, or the Mysteries of His Kingdom which were not fit at that time to be publisht in plain terms, used a Mistical Language; as when he called his Body the *Temple*, or he taught them by *Parables*, which were not obvious at the first hearing, but still what he said, had a certain and determined sense, and what was obscure and difficult, he explained privately to his Apostles, that in due time they might explain it to others; but to assert, as these men must do, that Christ gave them such an answer as signified nothing, and which he intended they should understand nothing by, shews that they are not so civil to our Saviour as these *Pharisees* and *Herodians* were, who at least owned in compliment, *Master we know that thou art true, and teachest the way of God in Truth, neither carest thou for any Man, for thou regardest not the Person of Men.*

But certainly the *Pharisees* did believe, that there was something in our Saviours answer, for *they marvelled, and left him, and went their way*: And yet those who had wit enough to ask such ensnaring Questions, could not be so dull as to be put off with a Sophistical Answer, (an Art below the gravity of our Saviour's Person and Office) but would have urged it a little further, had they not been sensible, that they were sufficiently answered, and had nothing to reply.

For indeed can any thing be plainer than our Saviour's Answer? They ask him whether it were lawful to pay Tribute to *Cæsar*? he does not indeed in express words say, that they should pay Tribute to *Cæsar*, but he gives them such an Answer, as withal convinced them of the Reason and Necessity of

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it. He asks whose Image and superscription was on the Tribute-Money; they tell him *Cæsars*; from whence he infers, 273 *Render therefore unto* Cæsar *the things that are* Cæsar's. *Therefore*? *Wherefore*? because the Tribute-Money had *Cæsars* Image on it; therefore they must render to *Cæsar the things that are Cæsars*; which certainly signifies that *Tribute* was one of those things which belonged to *Cæsar*, and must be rendred to him, as appeared by having *Cæsar*'s Image: Not as if every thing that had *Cæsar*'s Mark and Stamp on it, did belong unto *Cæsar*, and must be given to him, (as some Men profanely enough, how wittily soever they imagine, burlesque and Ridicule our Saviour's Answer) for at this Rate all the Mony of the Empire, which bore his Image, was *Cæsars*; but the Money which was stampt with *Cæsar*'s Image, and was the current Money of the Nation, was a plain sign, as I observed before, that he was their Soveraign, and paying Tribute was a known Right due to Soveraign Princes; and therefore the very Money which they used, with *Cæsar*'s Image on it, resolved that Question, not only of the lawfulness, but the necessity of paying Tribute: and this was so plain an Answer, that the Pharisees were ashamed of their Question, and went away without making any Reply; for they no more dared to deny that *Cæsar* was their King, than they thought he dared either to own or deny the lawfulness of paying Tribute to *Cæsar*. And this was all the subtilty of our Saviour's Answer

But then, our Saviour not confining his Answer meerly to the Case of paying Tribute, but answering in general, That we must *render to Cæsar the things that are Cæsar*'s, extends this to all the Rights of Soveraign Princes, and so becomes a standing Rule in all Cases, to give to *Cæsar* what is *Cæsar*'s due. And when our Saviour commands us to *render to Cæsar the things which are Cæsar's*, without telling us what *Cæsar*'s things are, this is so far from making his Answer doubtful and ambiguous, and of no use in this present Controversie, that it suggests to us three plain and natural Consequences, which are sufficient to end this whole Dispute.

1. That our Saviour did not intend to make any alteration in the Rights of Soveraignty, but what Rights he found Soveraign Princes possest of, he leaves them in the quiet possessi-

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on of; for had he intended to make any change in this matter, he would not have given such a general Rule, to *render to* Cæsar *the things which are* Cæsar's, without specifying what these things are.

2. And therefore he leaves them to the known Laws of the *Empire*, to determine what is *Cæsar*'s Right. Whatever is essential to the Nation of Soveraign Power, whatever the Laws and Customs of Nations determine to be *Cæsar*'s Right, that they must render to him; for he would make no alteration in this matter. So that subjection to *Princes*, and *Non-Resistance*, is as plainly determined by our Saviour in this Law, as paying of *Tribute*; for Subjection and *Non-Resistance* is as essential a Right of *Soveraign Power*, and as inseparable from the notion of it, as any thing can be. So it is acknowledged by the Laws and Customs of Nations; and so it is determined by the Apostle St. *Paul*; as I shall shew hereafter.

3. I observe farther, That when our Saviour enjoins our Duty to our *Prince*, with our Duty to our *God*, *render to* Cæsar *the things which are* Cæsar's, *and to God, the things which are God's.* He excepts nothing from *Cæsar's Rights*, which by the Laws of Nations is due to Soveraign Princes, but what is a violation of, and an encroachment on God's Right and Soveraignty; that is, we must pay all that Obedience and Subjection to Princes, which is consistent with our Duty to God. This is the only limit our Saviour sets to our Duty to Princes. If they should command us to renounce our Religion, and worship false gods; if they should challenge Divine Honours to themselves, as some of the Roman Emperors did; this we must not do, because it is to renounce Obedience and Subjection to God, who has a more Soveraign power, and a greater Right in us than our Prince: But all *Active* and *Passive Obedience*, which is consistent with a good Conscience towards God, and required of us by the Laws of our Country, and the essential Rights of Soveraignty, is what we owe to our Prince, and what by our Saviour's Command we must render to him.

This, I hope, is sufficient for the explication of our Saviour's Answer to the *Pharisees* and *Herodians*; which evident-

it. He asks whose Image and superscription was on the Tribute-Money; they tell him *Cæsars*; from whence he infers, *Render therefore unto* Cæsar *the things that are* Cæsar's. *Therefore? Wherefore?* becauſe the Tribute-Money had *Cæsars* Image on it; therefore they muſt render to *Cæsar the things that are Cæsars*; which certainly ſignifies that *Tribute* was one of thoſe things which belonged to *Cæsar*, and muſt be rendred to him, as appeared by having *Cæsar*'s Image: Not as if every thing that had *Cæsar*'s Mark and Stamp on it, did belong unto *Cæsar*, and muſt be given to him, (as ſome Men profanely enough, how wittily ſoever they imagine, burleſque and Ridicule our Saviour's Anſwer) for at this Rate all the Mony of the Empire, which bore his Image, was *Cæsars*; but the Money which was ſtampt with *Cæsar*'s Image, and was the current Money of the Nation, was a plain ſign, as I obſerved before, that he was their Soveraign, and paying Tribute was a known Right due to Soveraign Princes; and therefore the very Money which they uſed, with *Cæsar*'s Image on it, reſolved that Queſtion, not only of the lawfulneſs, but the neceſſity of paying Tribute: and this was ſo plain an Anſwer, that the Phariſees were aſhamed of their Queſtion, and went away without making any Reply; for they no more dared to deny that *Cæsar* was their King, than they thought he dared either to own or deny the lawfulneſs of paying Tribute to *Cæsar*. And this was all the ſubtilty of our Saviour's Anſwer

But then, our Saviour not confining his Anſwer meerly to the Caſe of paying Tribute, but anſwering in general, That we muſt *render to Cæsar the things that are Cæsar*'s, extends this to all the Rights of Soveraign Princes, and ſo becomes a ſtanding Rule in all Caſes, to give to *Cæsar* what is *Cæsar*'s due. And when our Saviour commands us to *render to Cæsar the things which are Cæsar's*, without telling us what *Cæsar*'s things are, this is ſo far from making his Anſwer doubtful and ambiguous, and of no uſe in this preſent Controverſie, that it ſuggeſts to us three plain and natural Conſequences, which are ſufficient to end this whole Diſpute.

1. That our Saviour did not intend to make any alteration in the Rights of Soveraignty, but what Rights he found Soveraign Princes poſſeſt of, he leaves them in the quiet poſſeſſi-

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on of; for had he intended to make any change in this matter, he would not have given ſuch a general Rule, to *render to* Cæſar *the things which are* Cæſar's, without ſpecifying what theſe things are.

2. And therefore he leaves them to the known Laws of the *Empire*, to determine what is *Cæſar*'s Right. Whatever is eſſential to the Nation of Soveraign Power, whatever the Laws and Cuſtoms of Nations determine to be *Cæſar*'s Right, that they muſt render to him; for he would make no alteration in this matter. So that ſubjection to *Princes*, and *Non-Reſiſtance*, is as plainly determined by our Saviour in this Law, as paying of *Tribute*; for Subjection and *Non-Reſiſtance* is as eſſential a Right of *Soveraign Power*, and as inſeparable from the notion of it, as any thing can be. So it is acknowledged by the Laws and Cuſtoms of Nations; and ſo it is determined by the Apoſtle St. *Paul*; as I ſhall ſhew hereafter.

3. I obſerve farther, That when our Saviour enjoins our Duty to our *Prince*, with our Duty to our *God*, *render to* Cæſar *the things which are* Cæſar's, *and to God, the things which are God's.* He excepts nothing from *Cæſar's Rights*, which by the Laws of Nations is due to Soveraign Princes, but what is a violation of, and an encroachment on God's Right and Soveraignty; that is, we muſt pay all that Obedience and Subjection to Princes, which is conſiſtent with our Duty to God. This is the only limit our Saviour ſets to our Duty to Princes. If they ſhould command us to renounce our Religion, and worſhip falſe gods; if they ſhould challenge Divine Honours to themſelves, as ſome of the Roman Emperors did; this we muſt not do, becauſe it is to renounce Obedience and Subjection to God, who has a more Soveraign power, and a greater Right in us than our Prince: But all *Active* and *Paſſive Obedience*, which is conſiſtent with a good Conſcience towards God, and required of us by the Laws of our Country, and the eſſential Rights of Soveraignty, is what we owe to our Prince, and what by our Saviour's Command we muſt render to him.

This, I hope, is ſufficient for the explication of our Saviour's Anſwer to the *Phariſees* and *Herodians*; which evident-

ly contains the Doctrin of Obedience and Subjection to Princes, enforced on us by the Authority of our Saviour himself.

Having seen what the Doctrin of our Saviour was, let us now consider his *Practice*: And we need not doubt, but our Saviour lived as he preacht. He taught his Disciples by his Example, as well as by his Laws. His Life was the best Comment upon his Sermons; was a visible Lecture of Universal Righteousness and Goodness; and it is impossible to conceive a more perfect and absolute example of *Subjection* and *Non-Resistance*, than our Saviour has set us.

When our Saviour appeared in the World, the *Jews* were very weary of the *Roman Yoke*, and in earnest expectation of their *Messias*, who, as they thought, would restore the Kingdom again unto *Israel*; and this expectation of their *Messias*, whom they mistook for a Temporal Prince, made them very apt to joyn with any one, who pretended to be the *Messias*, and to rebel against the Roman Government. Such most likely were *Theudas* and *Judas* of *Galilee*, of whom we have mention, *Act.* 5. 36, 37. and it is not impossible, but the *Egyptian*, who led 4000 men into the Wilderness, *Act.* 38. either pretended to be the *Messias*, or some fore-runner of him: to be sure, such were those *false Christs*, and *false Prophets*, of whom our Saviour warns his Disciples, *Mat.* 24. 23. *Then if any man shall say unto you, Lo, here is Christ, or there; believe him not.*

This being the temper of the *Jewish Nation* at that time, so extreamly inclined to Seditions and Rebellion against the *Roman* Powers, how easie had it been for our Saviour, had he pleased, to have made himself very potent and formidable? How easie could he have gained even the Scribes and Pharisees to his party, (whose great quarrel was at his meanness and poverty) would he once have declared himself a Temporal Prince, and invaded the Throne? But he was so far from this, that when he perceived the people had an intention to take him by force, and make him a King, he withdrew himself privately from them, and departed into a Mountain himself alone, *John* 6. 15. and yet I presume there might have been as many plausible pretences to have justified a Rebellion then, as ever there were in any Nation since. He had at that time fed *five thousand men*

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beſides women and children, with five barly loaves, and two ſmall fiſhes: and what a formidable Enemy would he have been, who could Victual an Army by Miracles, and could, when he pleaſed, conquer by the ſame miraculous Power alſo? This the people, whom he had miraculouſly fed, were very ſenſible of, and did hence conclude, That *he was the* Prophet *that ſhould come into the World*, and that it was time to take him, and ſet him upon the Throne: But though our Saviour was indeed the *Meſſias*, yet he was not ſuch a *Meſſias*, as they expected; he was not a Temporal Prince, and therefore would not countenance their Rebellion againſt *Cæſar*, though it were to make himſelf a King.

It is ſufficiently known, That Chriſt ſubmitted to the moſt unjuſt Sentence, to the moſt ignominious and painful death, rather than reſiſt the *Higher Powers*, though he could ſo eaſily have *called for Legions of Angels to his reſcue; but he went as a lamb to the ſlaughter, and as the ſheep before the ſhearer is dumb, ſo he opened not his mouth: when he was reviled, he reviled not again: when he ſuffered, he threatned not, but committed himſelf to him who judgeth righteouſly.* He rebuked *Peter* when he drew his Sword in his defence, and tells *Pilate* the reaſon why he was ſo eaſily apprehended, and uſed at their pleaſure, without any reſiſtance and oppoſition, though he had been formerly attended with ſuch crowds of his Diſciples; becauſe he was no Temporal Prince, and therefore did not require his *Diſciples* to fight for him, as other Temporal Princes uſed to do. *Jeſus anſwered, my Kingdom is not of this World: if my Kingdom were of this world, then would my ſervants fight, that I ſhould not be delivered to the Jews; but now is my Kingdom not from hence,* Joh. 18. 36. Which plainly ſhews, That our Saviour's ſubjection was not matter of force and conſtraint, becauſe he wanted power to reſiſt; but it was matter of choice, that which was moſt agreeable to the nature of his Kingdom, which was not to be propagated by carnal Weapons, but by Suffering and Death.

And when our Saviour has ſet us ſuch an Example as this, it is wonderful to me, that any, who call themſelves his Diſciples, can think it lawful to rebel againſt their Prince, and defend themſelves from the moſt unjuſt Violence, by a more unjuſt Reſiſtance. But there are few men, who are conten-

ted to follow Christ to the Cross; they do not like that part of his Example, and are willing to perswade themselves, that they are not bound to imitate it. And there are two things which I find urged by some men to this purpose, which must be briefly considered.

1. That it is no wonder, that Christ suffered patiently and quietly, without resisting the most unjust Violence, because he came into the World to die, and to make his Soul an Offering for Sin. And how could so innocent a person die, but by the Hands of *Unjust* and *Tyrannical Powers?* And it was inconsistent with his Design of dying for Sin, to resist and oppose. This is the account our Saviour himself gives of his patient suffering. When St. *Peter* drew his Sword in his defence, he tells him, *Thinkest thou that I cannot now pray to my Father, and he shall presently give me more than twelve Legions of Angels? But how then shall the Scriptures be fulfilled, that thus it must be?* Mat. 26. 43, 54. *And the Cup which my Father has given me, shall I not drink it?* John 18. 11.

Having thus concluded what the Doctrin and Example of our Saviour was, about subjection to the higher Powers, let us now consider the Doctrin and Example of his Apostle St. *Paul*; not as if the Authority and Example of our Saviour were not sufficient, of it self, to make a Law, but stood in need of the Confirmation and additional Authority of his own Apostles; but we might justly suspect our selves mistaken in the Meaning of our Saviour's words, or in the Intention and Design of his Sufferings, had none of his Apostles, who were immediately instructed by himself, and acquainted with the most secret Mysteries of this Kingdom, ever preacht any such Doctrine as this, of *Subjection* to *Princes*. And therefore to give you the more abundant assurance of this, I shall plainly shew you, That the Apostles taught the same Doctrin, and imitated the Example of their Master. St. *Paul* has as fully declared himself in this matter, as it is possible any Man can do by words, *Rom.* 13. 1, 2. *Let every Soul be subject unto the higher powers, for there is no power but of God: the powers that be, are ordained of God. Whosoever therefore resisteth the Power, resisteth the Ordinance of God; and they that resist, shall receive to themselves Damnation.*

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This is a very expreſs Teſtimony againſt Reſiſtance, and therefore I ſhall conſider it at large; for there have been various Arts uſed to pervert every word of it and to make this Text ſpeak quite contrary to the Deſign and Intention of the Apoſtle in it: and therefore I ſhall divide the words into three general parts. 1. The Doctrine the Apoſtle inſtructs them in: *Let every ſoul be ſubject to the higher powers.* 2. The reaſon why he proves and forces this Doctrin: *For there is no power but of God; the powers that be, are ordained of God. Whoſoever therefore reſiſteth the Power, reſiſteth the Ordinance of God.* 3. The Puniſhment of ſuch Reſiſtance: *And they that reſiſt, ſhall receive to themſelves Damnation.*

1. I ſhall begin with the Doctrin, *That every Soul muſt be ſubject to the higher powers.* And here are three things to be explained: 1. Who are contained under this general expreſſion of *every ſoul.* 2. Who are meant by the *higher Powers.* 3. What is meant by being *ſubject.*

1. Who are contained under this general expreſſion of *every ſoul*, which by an ordinary Hebraiſm, ſignifies *every man*; for Man is a compounded Creature of Body and Soul, and either part of him is very often in Scripture put for the whole. Sometimes Fleſh, and ſometimes Soul ſignifies the Man; and when *every ſoul* is oppoſed to the *higher powers*, it muſt ſignifie all Men, of what Rank or Condition ſoever they be, who are not inveſted with this higher Power. *Popes* and *Biſhops*, and *Biſhops* and *Prieſts*, as well ſpiritual as ſecular perſons; the whole Body of the people, as well as every ſingle Individual: for, when every Soul is commanded to be ſubject, without any exception or limitation, this muſt reach them in all capacities and conditions.

The deſign of the Apoſtle, as you ſhall hear more preſently, was to forbid all Reſiſtance of Soveraign Princes; and had he known of any men, who might lawfully reſiſt, he ought not to have expreſt it in ſuch general terms, as to forbid all without exception. Had St. *Paul* known the Prerogative of St. *Peter*, and his Succeſſors the *Biſhops* of *Rome*, would he have written to the Chriſtians of *Rome*, to be ſubject to their Emperors, without making any proviſion for the greater Authority of their Biſhops?

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The reaſon he aſſigns why every ſoul muſt be ſubject to the higher Powers, is, Becauſe *all powers are of God*; ſo that whoſoever is bound to be ſubject to God, muſt be ſubject to their Prince, who is in God's ſtead. And this, I think, will reach the Pope of *Rome*, as well as any private Chriſtian; unleſs he will pretend to have more Authority on Earth than God himſelf has; for the Prince has God's Authority, and therefore cannot be reſiſted, but by a greater Authority than God's. And, by the ſame reaſon, if the whole Body of the people be ſubject to God, they muſt be ſubject to their Prince too, becauſe he acts by God's Authority and Commiſſion. Were a Soveraign Prince the Peoples Creature, that might be a good Maxim: *Rex major ſingulis, ſed minor univerſis*; that the King is greater than any particular Subject, but leſs than All together: but if he be God's Miniſter, he is upon that account as much greater than All, as God is.

And that the whole Body of the People, all together, as well as one by one, are equally concerned in this Command, of being ſubject to the *Higher Powers*, is evident, from this conſideration: That nothing leſs than this will ſecure the Peace and Tranquility of Human Societies: The Reſiſtance of ſingle perſons is more dangerous to themſelves than to the Prince, but a powerful Combination of Rebels is formidable to the moſt puiſſant Monarchs. The greater number of Subjects rebel againſt their Prince, the more too they diſtreſs his Government, and threaten his Crown and Dignity, and his Perſon and Authority be ſacred, the greater the Violence is which is offered to him, the greater is his Crime.

Had the Apoſtle exhorted the *Romans* after this manner: Let no private and ſingle man be ſo fooliſh, as to rebel againſt his Prince, who will be too ſtrong for him; but if you can raiſe ſufficient Forces to oppoſe againſt him; if you can all conſent to depoſe or murder him, this is very innocent and juſtifiable, nay, an Heroical Atchievement, which becomes a free born people: How would this ſecure the Peace and Quiet of the World? How would this have agreed with what follows, That Princes are advanced by *God*, and that to reſiſt our Prince, is to reſiſt the Ordinance of God, and that ſuch men ſhall be ſeverely puniſht for it, in this World or the next? For, can the Apoſtle be thought abſolutely to condemn Reſiſtance, if he

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makes it only unlawful to reſiſt, when we want power to conquer? Which yet is all that can be made of it, if by *every ſoul*, the Apoſtle means only particular men, not the united force and power of the Subjects.

Nor can there be any Reaſon aſſigned, why the Apoſtle ſhould lay ſo ſtrict a Command on particular Chriſtians, to be ſubject to the higher Powers, which does not equally concern whole Nations; for if it can ever be lawful for a whole Nation to reſiſt a Prince, it may, in the ſame circumſtances, be equally lawful for a particular man to do it. If a Nation may conſpire againſt a Prince, who invades their Rights, their Liberties, or their Religion, why may not any Man, by the ſame Reaſon, reſiſt a *Prince*, when his Rights and Liberties are invaded? It is not ſo ſafe and prudent indeed, for a private man to reſiſt, as for great and powerful numbers; but this makes Reſiſtance only a Matter of Diſcretion, not of Conſcience: If it be lawful for the whole Body of a Nation to reſiſt in ſuch Caſes, it muſt be equally lawful for a particular man to do it; but he does it at his own peril, when he has only his one ſingle force to oppoſe againſt his Prince. So that our Apoſtle muſt forbid Reſiſtance in all or none; for, ſingle perſons do not uſe to reſiſt or rebel, or there is no great danger to the Publick if they do; but the Authority of Princes, and the Security of publick Government, is only endangered by a Combination of Rebels, when the whole Nation, or any conſiderable part for numbers, power, and intereſt, take *Arms* againſt their Prince.

If Reſiſtance of our Prince be a ſin, it is not the leſs, but the greater ſin, the greater, and the more formidable, the Reſiſtance is; and it would very much unbecome the Gravity and Sacredneſs of an Apoſtolical Precept, to enjoin ſubjection to private Chriſtians, who dare not, who cannot reſiſt alone, but to leave a powerful Combination of Rebels at liberty to reſiſt: ſo that *every Soul*, muſt ſignifie *all Subjects*, whether ſingle or united: for, whatever is unlawful for every ſingle perſon, conſidered as a Subject, is unlawful for them all together; for the whole Nation is as much a Subject to the higher Powers, as any ſingle man.

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Thus I am ſure it is in our Government, where *Lords* and *Commons* aſſembled in *Parliament* own themſelves the Subjects of the *King*, and have by publick Laws diſclaimed all Power of raiſing any *War*, either *offenſive* or *defenſive againſt the King*.

Having heard what St. *Paul*'s Doctrine was, let us now conſider what St. *Peter* taught about this matter: he had as much reaſon to learn this Leſſon as any of the Apoſtles, our Saviour having ſeverally rebuked him for drawing his Sword againſt the lawful Powers, as you have already heard. And indeed his raſh and intemperate zeal in this Action coſt him very dear; for we have reaſon to believe, that this was the chief thing, that tempted him to deny his Maſter. He was afraid to own himſelf to be his Diſciple, or that he had been in the Garden with him; becauſe he was conſcious to himſelf, that by drawing his Sword, and ſmiting the Servant of the *High-Prieſt*, he had incurred the penalty of the Law, and had he been diſcovered, could expect nothing leſs, but to be ſeverely puniſh'd for it, it may be to have loſt his Life for his reſiſtance. And indeed, this has very often been the fate of thoſe men, who have been tranſported with a boiſtrous and intemperate Zeal to draw their Swords for their Maſter and his Religion, againſt the lawful Powers, that they commonly deny their Maſter, and deſpiſe his Religion, before they put their ſwords up again.

But St. *Peter* having, by our Saviour's Reproof, and his own dear-bought Experience, learnt the Evil of Reſiſtance, never drew his Sword more, and took great care to inſtruct Chriſtians, not to do ſo; 1 *Pet.* 2. 13, 14, 15, 16. *Submit your ſelves to every Ordinance of Man, for the Lord's ſake, whether it be to the King, as ſupreme; or unto Governours, as to them that are ſent by him, for the puniſhment of evil-doers, and for the praiſe of them that do well. For ſo is the will of God, that with well-doing ye may put to ſilence the ignorance of fooliſh men. As free, and not uſing your liberty as a cloak of maliciouſneſs, but as the ſervants of God.*

This is the very ſame Doctrin which St. *Paul* taught the *Romans*: *Let every ſoul be ſubject to the higher powers*; for the ſame word is uſed in the Original, and therefore to ſubmit, and to be ſubject, is the ſame thing, which, as St. *Paul* tells us, ſignifies *Non-Reſiſtance*; only St. *Paul* ſpeaks of not reſiſting the

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Higher Powers, that is, Emperors and Soveraign Princes, herein including all thoſe who act by their Authority; S. *Peter*, to prevent all Cavils and Exceptions, diſtinctly mentions both, That we muſt ſubmit to all humane Power and Authority, not only to the *King as Supreme*, that is, in St. *Paul*'s phraſe, to the *Higher Powers*, to all Soveraign Princes, who are inveſted with the ſupreme Authority; but alſo to thoſe who are ſent by him, who receive their Authority and Commiſſion from the Soveraign Prince.

St. *Paul* tells us at large, That *all Power is of God*, and that the power is the Miniſter of God; *and he that reſiſteth the power, reſiſteth the ordinance of God*; *and therefore we muſt needs be ſubject, not only for Wrath*, (that is, for fear of being puniſht by Men) *but alſo for Conſcience ſake*, out of reverence to God, and fear of his Judgment. This St. *Peter* compriſes in one word, which includes it all: *Submit your ſelf to every Ordinance of Man, for the Lord's ſake*: for, How is God concerned in our Obedience to Princes, if they be not his Miniſters, who are appointed and advanced by him, and act by his Authority, and if it be not his Will and Command that we ſhould obey them? and therefore he adds, *For this is the will of God, that with well-doing*, (that is by obedience and ſubjection to Princes) *ye may put to ſilence the ignorance of fooliſh men*; that is, that you may put to ſilence thoſe fooliſh men, who ignorantly accuſe you, as fond of Changes, and troubleſome and dangerous to Government. But then, St. *Peter* obſerving, that Chriſtian Liberty was made a pretence for Seditions and Treaſons, he cautions them againſt that alſo; *As free, but not uſing your liberty for a cloak of maliciouſneſs*; that is, to cover and excuſe ſuch wickedneſs as Rebellion againſt Princes, but as the ſervants of God: You muſt remember whatever Freedom Chriſt has purchaſed for you, he has not delivered you from Obedience and Subjection to God; you are His ſervants ſtill, and therefore muſt be ſubject to thoſe, who receive their Power and Authority from God, as all Soveraign Princes do.

This is as plain, one would think, as words can make it; but nothing can be ſo plain, but that Men, who are unwilling to underſtand, and who ſet their wits on work to avoid the force and evidence of it, may be able to find ſomething to ſay, to de-

ceive themſelves, and thoſe who are willing to be deceived: and therefore it will be neceſſary to conſider what falſe Colours ſome men have put upon theſe words, to elude and baffle the plain ſcope and deſign of the Apoſtle in them.

As, firſt, they obſerve, that *St. Peter* calls Kings and ſubordinate Governours an Ordinance of Man, or a human Creature, and from hence they conclude, that Kings are only the *Peoples Creatures*; they are made by the people, and receive their Power from them, and therefore are accountable to them if they abuſe their Power. In anſwer to this, we may conſider,

1. That this Interpretation of St. *Peter*'s words, is a direct contradiction to St. *Paul*, who expreſly aſſerts, That *there is no power but of God, the powers that be, are ordained of God*; but, according to this Expoſition of *Human Creature*, or the *Ordinance of Man*, there is no power of God, but all power is derived from the people. Kings and Princes may be choſen by Men, as it is in *Elective Kingdoms*, and as it was at that time in the *Roman Empire*, but they receive their power from God: and thus St. *Paul* and St. *Peter* may be reconciled. But to affirm, That St. *Peter* calls Kings an Ordinance of Man, becauſe they receive their power and Authority from Men, is an irreconcilable contradiction to St. *Paul*, who affirms, That they receive their power from God; That they are God's, and not the peoples Miniſters. Now, though St. *Peter* and St. *Paul* did once differ upon a matter of Prudence, it would be of ill conſequence to Religion, to make them differ in ſo material a Doctrine as this is; and yet there is no way to reconcile them, but by expounding St. *Peter*'s words, ſo as to agree with St. *Paul*'s; for St. *Paul*'s words can never be reconciled with that ſence which theſe men give of St. *Peter*'s; and that is a good Argument to me, that is not the true interpretation of St. *Peter*; for I verily believe, that theſe two great Apoſtles did not differ in this point.

2. St. *Peter* exhorts them to *ſubmit to every Ordinance of Man, for the Lord's ſake*; which plainly ſignifies, that whatever hand Men may have in modelling Civil Governments, yet it is the Ordi-

Ordinance of God, and Princes receive their power from him. For it is no act of Diſobedience to God, to reſiſt our Prince, nor of Obedience to God to ſubmit to him, if he does not derive his power from God, and act by his Authority and Commiſſion; eſpecially in ſuch caſes, when he oppoſes the Government of God, and the Intereſt of Religion, and oppreſſes not only God's Creatures, but his moſt faithful and obedient People, who are his peculiar care and charge: In ſuch caſes as theſe, if Princes do not receive their power from God, they are oppoſite and rival-powers, and we can no more ſubmit to them for God's ſake, than we can ſubmit to a Rebel, for the ſake of------ that is, out of Duty and Loyalty to our Natural Prince. And therefore, when the Apoſtle exhorts them, for God's ſake, to ſubmit to their King, he plainly ſuppoſes what St. *Paul* did particularly expreſs, That Kings receive their power from God, and therefore are God's Miniſters, even when they abuſe their power; and he that reſiſts, reſiſts the Ordinance and Authority of God.

3. But ſuppoſe we ſhould grant, That when St. *Peter* calls Kings the Ordinance of Man, he means, That they receive their Power and Authority from Men; yet I cannot ſee what good this will do them; for he plainly diſowns their conſequence, That therefore Princes are accountable to the people, as to their Superiors, and may be reſiſted, depoſed, and brought to condign puniſhment, if they abuſe this power; as will appear from theſe two Obſervations.

1. That He gives the King the Title of *Supreme*, who is above them all, and is inveſted with the ſupreme and ſoveraign power. Now, the ſupreme power, in the very notion of it, is irreſiſtible and unaccountable; for otherwiſe it is not ſupreme, but ſubject to ſome ſuperiour Juriſdiction; which, it is evidently known, the *Roman Emperors*, of whom the Apoſtle here ſpeaks, were not. And,

2. That he requires Subjection to this Human Ordinance; which, as appears from St *Paul*, ſignifies *Non-Reſiſtance*: ſo that tho' we ſhould grant, that the King derives his Power from the people, yet, it ſeems, God confirms and eſtabliſhes the Crown on his Head, and will not ſuffer people to take it off again, when they pleaſe.

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LET us have a care of our Zeal, that we may not mistake an earthly Fire, which burns and consumes, for that Divine and harmless flame, which is kindled at God's Altar. A true Zeal for Religion is nothing more, nor less, than such a hearty Love for it, as makes us very diligent in the practice of it our selves, and very industrious to promote the knowledg and practice of Religion in the World, by all lawful and prudent means. A true Christian Zeal will not suffer us to transgress the strict bounds of our Duty to God, or of our Duty to Men, especially to *Kings* and *Princes*, whatever flattering prospect of Advantage it may give. To lye, to forswear our selves, to hate and revile each other; to reproach and libel Governours in Church and State; to stir up or countenance, with the least thought, any seditious practices against the King or Government, is not a Zeal for God, nor for Religion; for, *this Wisdom is not from above, but is earthly, sensual, and deviliſh*; for where Strife and Contention is, there is Confusion, and every evil work. Let us be wary how we begin to entertain, or to whisper our Discontents; how we begin to listen to *Suspicions* of our *Prince*, or of his Government, and to hear with pleasure any scandalous stories or reflections on either.

'*GOD, of His infinite Mercy, preserve our King and Queen,* '*and these Kingdoms, our* Liberties, Laws, *and* Religion, *from* '*the wicked Conspiracies of all our Enemies.* Which is the 'last thing I shall recommend to you, to praise God for his Pre-'servation of our King hitherto, and earnestly beg, that the 'same Providence would still watch over him for the time to 'come. Let us bless God, and let us honour our King, and re-'ceive him with Joy and Thanksgiving, as a new Gift and Pre-'sent from the hands of God. When we are heartily thankful 'for the Mercies we have already received, this will make our '*Prayers* more effectual for the continuance of them.

O Lord, save the King and Queen, who putteth their Trust in thee; send them help from thy Holy Place, and evermore mightily defend them: let their Enemies have no advantage against them, nor the Wicked approach to hurt them. Which God of his infinite Mercy grant, through our Lord Jesus Christ, to whom, with the Father, &c.

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